THE OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURAL PATRIMONY OF BULGARIA REVISITED: INFRASTRUCTURE, INTENTIONALITY, AND THE GENESIS AND SURVIVAL OF MONUMENTS

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In honor of Prof. Machiel Kiel's five decades of uncovering and reassembling the history of the Ottoman Balkans, I have prefaced this contribution with an anecdote. In 1993, I visited Bulgaria to write and photograph on Muslim life in the shadow of the war in Bosnia.[1] To lend historical background to my work, I set out to identify architectural monuments through which I could conjure up the half-millennium during which the land now called Bulgaria had been Ottoman. As a first step, I interviewed researchers at the Oriental Division of the Saints Cyril and Methodius National Library and the University of St. Clement of Ohrid, both in Sofia. Each of the specialists I spoke with answered my questions with a simple question of their own, to wit: "Do you know Machiel Kiel?" I did not, but I did manage to find on the shelves of the National Library a lone, unread copy of Kiel's *Studies on the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans*.[2] When I opened the book, its spine made a cracking sound characteristic of a pristine new volume. On the frontispiece of the book was a handwritten inscription by the author which read something to the effect of: "I dedicate this book to the first person who reads it." And so, I read the book and, like many of the contributors to and readers of the present publication, accepted Kiel's challenge to take to the archives or, as in my own case, to the field, whether to expand our knowledge and understanding of the Ottoman past in the Balkans in general, and in Bulgaria in particular, or to help ensure the preservation of its architectural legacy and even, in the present age of exclusionary nation states, the vestiges of its traditions of pluralism.

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Over the last half-century, the lion's share of Machiel Kiel's several hundred published articles and numerous books has focused on the architecture, settlements, and demography of the territory that, since the late-19th century, has comprised what is now the independent state of Bulgaria. In recent years, to point to but a single example, Kiel has undertaken to write a history of Ottoman Bulgaria in the form of scores of new entries on Bulgarian cities, towns, and selected rural settlements for the *Turkiye Diyanet Vakfi Islam Ansiklopedisi*.[3] His major book-

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[1] See Lewis, Stephen. "Islam in Bulgaria," in: *Aramco World*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (1994), pp. 20-9.
[2] Kiel, Machiel. *Studies on the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990.
[3] For the individual entries, see the bibliography at the end of this volume.

length work, *Art and society in Bulgaria during the Turkish period*,[4] analyzed and cogently deflated what had long been, and sadly still remains, the backbone of Bulgarian (not to mention Western) historiography and popular opinion, and the very misconception upon which modern Bulgarian national identity arose and continues to be based, i.e. that the half-millennium of Ottoman rule in Bulgaria was a dark, nightmarish time in which freedom was curtailed, imagined national identity quashed, and social, cultural, and economic development kept at a stand-still.

That Kiel came to write so extensively on Bulgaria is no accident. The territory that is now Bulgaria was among the first in the Balkans into which Ottoman rule and institutions expanded, and among the last from which they withdrew. From the late-14th century until the formation of the Kingdom of Bulgaria as a result of the Russo-Turkish war of the 1870s and the absorption of the semi-autonomous principality of East Rumelia in 1885 – for a full 500 years, thus – what is now Bulgaria had been an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. As such, it was dotted with new settlements, peopled with waves of new arrivals, and spanned with new webs of infrastructure and the components thereof, i.e. the architectural monuments and civil works that comprised the framework and settings for Ottoman economic, administrative, and religious life and military defense.

Even in the aftermath of the succession of regional and world wars, political upheavals, internecine conflicts, and economic and social changes that characterized the one hundred years between the end of Ottoman rule and Kiel's first extensive rounds of field work in Bulgaria during the 1970s, a broad range and large number of greater and lesser Ottoman architectural and civil works representing diverse styles and levels of quality remained extent for documentation and study in Bulgaria.[5] These monuments had survived despite the recurring and invariably heavy-handed efforts of Bulgarian political authorities and scholars alike to make ethnically, religiously, and linguistically homogeneous the geopolitical entity that Bulgarians consider to be exclusively theirs and theirs alone, this by wiping out or explaining away any and all vestiges of Ottoman times, from individual monuments and the names of locales to the very presence and identities of the country's Turkish, Roma, and linguistically-Bulgarian Muslim populations.

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[4] Kiel, Machiel. *Art and society of Bulgaria in the Turkish period: a sketch of the economic, juridical, and artistic preconditions of Bulgarian post-Byzantine art and its place in the development of the art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70-1700: a new interpretation*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985.

[5] For an illustrated overview of Ottoman architecture in Bulgaria, see Kiel, Machiel. *Bulgaristan'da Osmanlı dönemi kentsel gelişimi ve mimari anıtları*. Tr. İlknur Aktuğ Kolay. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2000. Also see Lewis, Stephen. "The Ottoman architectural patrimony of Bulgaria", in: *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht, Netherlands*, 1999; formerly published in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 4 (2001), art. 30, pp. 1-25, and presently available at online at http://hakpaksak.files.wordpress.com/2009/04/stephen-lewis-the-ottoman-architectural-patrimony-of-bulgaria.pdf. For an overview of remaining Ottoman architecture in Bulgaria by an architect and restorer responsible for the preservation of numerous monuments, see: Muschanov, Nikola. "Die Eigenart der muslimischen Kultusdenkmäler aus osmanischer Zeit in Bulgarien und die Problematik ihrer Erhaltung und Restaurierung", in: *Die Staaten Südosteuropas und die Osmanen*. Ed. Hans-Georg Majer. Münich: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1989, pp. 77-111. There are no comprehensive lists or data bases of Ottoman monuments in Bulgaria. Substantial information is available in the files of Bulgaria's National Monuments Commission, but these are organized geographically rather than by period and, through the 1990's at least, were neither digitized nor searchable. For data bases of Ottoman mosques in Bulgaria as drawn from the field notes of Machiel Kiel and of Nikola Mušanov, see Lewis, Stephen. *A survey of architectural monuments of ethnic and religious minorities in the present-day Republic of Bulgaria*. Washington, D.C.: United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad (forthcoming). A Bulgarian government survey of functioning houses of prayer (*Teritorialen obzor na molitvenite domove na osnovnite veroizpovedananija v stranata*, 1992) lists approximately 1,500 mosques as functioning in 1992, but these are differentiated by locations and not by dates of construction; also, closer examination shows the list to include many Bektashi and related holy places as mosques. In a report on a move by the popular anti-Jewish, anti-Roma, anti-Muslim Bulgarian political party Attaka to block the construction of new mosque in Sofia, the newspaper *Sofia Echo* (Electronic Edition, Thurs., Dec. 4, 2008; http://www.sofiaecho.com/article/ataka-wants-referendum-on-second-sofia-mosque/id_33374/catid_66), reported that: "According to the Chief Mufti's Office there were a total of 1,457 Muslim places of worship in the country. Of these, 1,217 were mosques."

For the next coming generation of Ottoman historians, a number of whom are represented in this volume, Professor Kiel's output and approach provide the impetus and method for continuing to recover and write chapters of the history of the Ottoman Balkans. From the perspectives of other disciplines, however, Kiel's findings provide a basis for placing Ottoman history and the Ottoman architectural patrimony of Bulgaria (not to mention those of neighboring countries) into larger historical and functional contexts that explain and clarify, not only the rise and endurance of monuments throughout the Ottoman centuries, but also their partial destruction over the time since, their present situations, and the prospects and means for their future preservation. In a broader context, such an examination also lends insight into questions of public good, roles of government, and the origins and nature of economic and social infrastructure.

Monuments, intentionality, and infrastructure

Architectural monuments are conceived, built, and function in contexts broader than those of their individual histories, typologies, or styles. Individual structures, no matter how imposing or unique, owe their genesis and survival, their abandonment and/or eventual conservation or regeneration, to their roles within larger infrastructural contexts and the intentions of those build, fund, and use them.[6]

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the history of architecture was often subsumed as a subset of art history. Architectural works were presented and analyzed in terms of styles, thus positioning architecture as a large-scale, outdoor, and utilitarian form of sculpture, with adorned exteriors and decorated interiors.[7] Invariably, building techniques, engineering challenges, and choices of materials were neglected in such presentations, as were the geneses and roles of monuments in larger economic, political, functional contexts. Such an approach characterized one of the earliest modern presentations of the architecture of the Ottoman Empire, a volume on Ottoman architecture prepared and presented for the Vienna World Fair of 1873 at the behest of Sultan Abdülaziz.[8] In it, the development of Ottoman architecture was presented as an organic progression and in a teleological manner that charted the emergence and evolution of a distinctly Ottoman style and traced its evolution toward realization, self-consciously presenting and justifying it in terms of the architecture of the West.

In more recent times, leading authorities on Muslim and Ottoman architecture took a variety of approaches to characterizing, analyzing, and establishing relationships between monuments. Robert Hillenbrand, for example,[9] presented and analyzed Islamic architecture in terms of the types and functions of buildings, Godfrey Goodwin presented the corpus of Ottoman architecture in terms of historical periods,[10] and, the pioneering surveyor of the remains of Ottoman architecture in the lands that once comprised the Empire, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, grouped Ottoman monuments in the Balkans geographically according to the boundaries of the geopolitical entities within which they stood at the time of his research.[11] In his work for the *Turkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islam Ansiklopedisi*, as in most of his published articles, Professor Kiel orders monuments by individual cities, towns, and villages.

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[6] For notes towards a working definition of "infrastructure," see Lewis, Stephen. "The etymology of infrastructure and the infrastructure of the internet" (http://hakpaksak.wordpress.com/2008/09/22/the-etymology-of-infrastructure-and-the-infrastructure-of-the-internet/)

[7] As a classic example, see Pevsner, Nikolaus. *An outline of European architecture*, London: Murray, 1948.

[8] *Die Ottomanische Baukunst. Durch kaiserliches Iradé genehmigtes Werk; herausgegeben unter dem Schutze sr Excellenz Edhem Pascha,* [etc.] Constantinople, 1973.

[9] Hillenbrand, Robert. *Islamic architecture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

[10] Goodwin, Godfrey. *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1971.

[11] Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. *Avrupa'da Osmanlı mimârî eserleri,* 4 Vols. Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2000.

In the first decade of the 21st century, new perspectives have emerged, grounded in understanding of infrastructural roles, political and economic processes, and the intentionality from which monuments emerged. In *The Age of Sinan* for example, Gülrü Necipoğlu reevaluates the works of the architect Sinan as expressions of the positions, prerogatives, and identities of their patrons.[12] In his recent book *The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans* and in his contribution to the present volume, Heath Lowry looks at the first wave of Ottoman monuments constructed in the early-15th century in what is now northern Greece as part and parcel of a pattern of infrastructural investment deliberately implemented to ensure security, facilitate economic activity (and thus streams of taxation revenues), and express permanence of rule and hegemony through a minimal and well-targeted level of expenditure and a minimal displacement and disruption in the lives of indigenous inhabitants.[13]

A similar approach is advanced in a recent analysis of the conception, construction, roles, and subsequent fates of the major architectural monuments in Istanbul. Nur Altınyıldız posits that the great hill-top mosque complexes that gave Ottoman Istanbul its characteristic appearance, one that endures in large measure even until today, are best understood as imarets, this in the sense of the Arabic root *'umrān*, "bringing or returning to a state of prosperity," i.e. as sources of value, thus.[14] Such complexes augmented the value invested in them by their patrons and builders by creating additional value through their roles as the cores and anchors of urban agglomerations and of the economic, social, religious and cultural functions that comprise and sustain cities and generate the goods and taxation revenues that support empires. The great mosque complexes were, at the same time, elements of the larger infrastructures of temporal rule and the religious organization of society while also serving as the underpinnings of urban economic and residential life. To mix metaphors, the great monuments were the massive stone anchors of the wooden residential and economic agglomerations that grew and accrued around them not unlike pearls around grains of sand. As the centuries passed and as economies and the distribution of economic activities within urban contexts changed and as new urban trajectories and routes and modes of transportation emerged and social and religious concepts evolved, monuments that were once the lynch-pins of urban infrastructure were deprived of their original roles and marginalized. Their functions narrowed and they came to be valued first for the specific narrowly-defined purposes of their spaces or, later, within modern secular contexts, for their aesthetic, symbolic, or antiquarian worth as stand-alone "monuments" or elements of collectively or juridically defined "cultural heritage."

Envisioning Ottoman Bulgaria: the infrastructures of hegemony, religion, and daily life

The Ottoman architectural patrimony of Bulgaria can be ordered as a series of successive, overlapping layers of infrastructure that served as the foundations of successive waves of secular and religious hegemony and permutations of day-to-day economic and social life. In broad strokes, these include:

I. The infrastructure of early Ottoman expansion: *Zaviye*s/*imaret*s, some built by *akıncı* families who led the Ottoman advance. Examples include the present-day mosque of Şihabuddin Paşa at Plovdiv and the now-ruined mosque at Ihtiman, both discussed at further length below.

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[12] Necipoğlu, Gülru. *The age of Sinan: architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London: Reaktion, 2005.
[13] Lowry, Heath. *The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: the conquest, settlement and infrastructural development of Northern Greece*. Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University, 2008.
[14] Altınyıldız, Nur. "The architectural heritage of Istanbul and the ideology of preservation", in: *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24 (2007), pp. 281-305, cit. p. 282.

II. The infrastructure of heterodox religion and the mausolea and *tekke* complexes later built and maintained by descendents of the *akıncı*s to honor saints of the heterodox traditions that were the spiritual arm of their advance and to maintain the loyalties of rural populations adhering to dervish and *abdal* traditions. Examples include the monumental, classically Ottoman, 16th-and 17th-century mausolea of Otman Baba, Ak Yazılı Baba, Demir Baba, and Kidemli Baba near present-day Haskovo, Balčik, Isparih, and Nova Zagora, respectively.[15]

III. The infrastructure of the consolidation of Ottoman power and, later, of Sunni Islam: Mosques, including two examples of multi-domed hypostyle sanctuaries in the architectural tradition of the Great Mosque (1400) at Bursa and the Eski Camii (1414) at Edirne, i.e. the early-15th-century Muradiye Camii in Plovdiv and the late-15th-century Büyük Camii in Sofia (the latter, since the early-20th century, the home of Bulgaria's National Archaeological Museum); early single-domed structures such as the now derelict and minaret-less Eski Camii (Mosque of Hamza Bey) in Stara Zagora (dating to 1408/9 and significant for the broad span of its dome and the robust nature of its stonework); as well as later works including the mid-18th-century *külliye* of Şerif Halil Paşa at Šumen, the only complete mosque complex still standing in all of Bulgaria. Also of interest in the present context is the İbrahim Paşa Camii at Razgrad, a town built by the Ottomans as a bulwark of sultanic rule in the midst of the Deli Orman region, traditionally a potentially rebellious stronghold of heterodox belief; the fortress-like appearance of the mosque is, albeit coincidentally, symbolic of its role.

IV. The infrastructure of decentralized rule and local lords ("*ayan*s"), including the mosque and library of Pasvantoğlu Osman Paşa at Vidin.

V. The infrastructure of rural belief and custom including local genres such as the wooden mosques of eastern and southern Bulgaria.[16]

VI. The infrastructure of trade and urban life, including bridges, baths, fountains, *bedesten*s, clock towers, official residences, and administrative structures of various periods. Prime examples include the bridges at present-day Svilengrad, Harmali, and Nevestino; the "Leaden Fountain" at Šumen and "Big Fountain" at Samokov; the solitary lone standing wall of the caravansary at Novi Han, the last stop prior to Sofia on the road from Istanbul to Belgrade and northward; and the nineteenth-century governor's palace at Sofia, later the palace of post-independence Bulgarian kings and, beginning in the communist period, the home of Bulgaria's national museums of art and of ethnography.

VII. The infrastructure of fortification and defense: Including fortifications extant at present-day Belogradčik, Ruse, and Silistra.

The Ottoman architectural patrimony of Bulgaria: relics bereft of contexts

The present-day status of the Ottoman architectural patrimony of Bulgaria provides a case study in the fates of monuments long divorced from their original contexts, bereft of new contexts to sustain them, and lost, as it were, in the midst of more recent infrastructural contexts and patterns of intentionality. Indeed, in Bulgaria, such shifts caused monuments that once were

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[15] Classical, that is, in all but the seven-sided shapes of their main chambers, an anomaly found only in what is now southern and eastern Bulgaria. For photographs of all such mausolea, and a striking exception thereto, see Lewis, Stephen. "A seven- and eight-sided problem: the heterodox Muslim türbes of eastern Bulgaria",
http://www.bubkes.org/2006/01/30#a83.

[16] For photographs of selected structures from this genre, see Lewis, Stephen. "An open and shut coincidence: Anatolian spolia, an anonymous archway, and the forgotten wooden mosques of the eastern Balkans", http://www.bubkes.org/2007/09/28#a401.

anchors of urban agglomerations and economic, civic, and religious life to become isolated relics fated to be ignored, destroyed, appropriated, or, at best, conserved or restored – and this not always in manners faithful to their origins, purposes, or histories, nor the cultures from which they emerged.[17]

The remaining infrastructure of the Ottoman Empire in Bulgaria was marginalized by the general trends of technological innovation, urbanization, and secularization that characterized the 19th and 20th centuries and continue into the 21st, as well as by radical changes engendered by waves of Russian military incursions from the late-18th century to the late-19th and by Bulgaria's subsequent independence from Ottoman rule.

In the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War of the 1870s Bulgaria emerged as a nation state in the standard European model of the time, i.e. a country built around the hegemony and rule of a single ethnos, united by a contrived and mutually agreed-upon history and teleology, speaking one language and practicing one common state-sanctioned religion, with pretenses to exclusive control within its borders and to the right of expansion beyond, and having, at best, a magnanimous and easily-withdrawn "tolerance" for other peoples or religious or linguistic groups in its midst, as well as by occasional outbreaks of vengeance toward those cast as fifth-columnists of present enemies or as vestigial reminders of past occupiers or real or imagined oppressors.[18] Indeed, as Bulgarians from all walks of life have repeated time and again to this writer during his researches over the last two decades: "You do not understand, what makes us Bulgarians is our fight against the Turks." Ottoman rule in Bulgaria ended almost a century and half ago but inwardly Bulgarians still wage one-sided warfare.

The realization of a newly-found national identity by those who defined themselves as Bulgarian led to active creation of their own monuments and urban vocabulary, utilitarian and symbolic, as well as to a concomitant erasing of vestiges of the Ottoman past that went beyond appropriation, destruction, and explaining away of monuments to include a government-mandated *en masse* change of the names of hundreds of cities, towns, and villages from Turkish to Bulgarian during the mid-1930s, and even to compulsory name changes of individual Turks and Muslims a half-century later. It also led to several waves of voluntary and forced mass emigration of Muslims from Bulgaria.[19] Whatever the exact numbers, out-migration contributed heavily to depriving what remained of Ottoman and Muslim infrastructure in Bulgaria of much of the constituency required to sustain it.

From Filibe to Plovdiv: urban change and the fates of marginalized monuments

The fate and status of Ottoman monuments in the city of Plovdiv illustrates the effects of the convergence of cultural, demographic, and infrastructural change. Not far from the banks of the Meriç River (Marica in Bulgarian, Evros in Greek) at the edge of what was Ottoman Filibe, is an elegant Italian restaurant. Most diners are unaware that the interior of the restaurant bears an uncanny resemblance to that of a mosque; elegantly set tables fill a *mahfil*-like balcony, a mural decorates a domed ceiling, and what at first glance appears to be a hearth, on second glance

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[17] For reports on the status and use, as of 2006, of forty-five mosque structures and heterodox Muslim shrines in Bulgaria dating to Ottoman times, see field reports appended to Stephen Lewis, *A Survey of architectural monuments*, op.cit.

[18] For an erudite refutation of central myths of Bulgarian national history and identity, and a cogent contention that the second Bulgarian kingdom was one of Cumans rather than Bulgarians, see Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars: oriental military in the pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*. Cambridge: University Press, 2005.

[19] See McCarthy, Justin. *Death and exile: the ethnic cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995; Turan, Ömer. *The Turkish minority in Bulgaria (1878-1908)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998; and Vaksberg, Tatiana. *Technology of evil* (a documentary film report on the administrative processes and implementation of Bulgaria's repression and expulsion of Muslim and Turkish-speaking citizens during the 1980s), Sofia, 2001.

uncannily resembles a *mihrab*. In fact, the restaurant *is* a mosque, the 16th-century Orta Mezar (Central Cemetery) Mosque. The mosque was closed and its eponymous surrounding cemetery cleared away early in the 1980s. The building was reopened as a restaurant a decade later.

Over the near century-and-a-half since Bulgaria achieved independence, more than a score of Plovdiv's former Ottoman religious monuments have vanished, depriving the city of its one-time minaret-studded skyline. The causes were diverse. A portion of Plovdiv's Ottoman religious monuments were abandoned and rendered superfluous by the cold realities of demographics as the city changed from largely Turkish and Muslim into almost exclusively Bulgarian and Christian. Other monuments fell victim to the transition of Plovdiv, as of other of Bulgaria's urban locales, from characteristically Ottoman cities of multiple ethnic- or confessional-based *mahalle*s to self-consciously "European" cities[20] of newly straight-cut streets streets in a so-called "American" style or of broad boulevards à la Hausmann's restructuring of Paris [21]. Simultaneously, with the rise of passenger and freight rail transportation, the epicenters of such cities moved towards their former peripheries as their growths shifted longitudinally on axes between their traditional commercial and administrative centers and agglomerations that formed around newly-built railway stations thus displacing concentric groupings once centered around mosques, baths, and *han*s. Within such radically changed urban contexts, Ottoman ensembles became superfluous and expendable, and were treated as such. This process continued well into the 1960s, when an immense *han* structure that still dominated part of the old center of Plovdiv was demolished.

Today, only three mosques remain in Plovdiv, each representing a distinct Ottoman style and each with a distinct fate. The early-15th-century Muradiye Camii or Friday Mosque – set alongside Plovdiv's main thoroughfare since Ottoman times and at the foot of a hill the heights of which comprised the city's fortified pre-Ottoman settlement – is an immense, multi-domed, heavy-piered structure built by Murad II during the reestablishment of control following the interregnum. Indeed, the monumentality of the Muradiye and its central defining location played a role in its survival in post-Ottoman times. The mid-15th-century İmaret Camii or Mosque of Gazi Şihabuddin Paşa, the Ottoman *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli, whose mausoleum stands adjacent to the structure, is T-shaped, having originally been built as a *zaviye* or *imaret*, with characteristic vestibule, longitudinal meeting space, and lateral refectory and hospice chambers, and is located at what at the time was the far periphery of Plovdiv. The İmaret Camii was retrofitted with a minaret and converted to use as a mosque during the solidification of Sunni Islam and sultanic rule during 16th-century. The 16th-century Orta Mezar Camii mentioned above is an Ottoman dome-on-cube at its simplest, an elegant structure despite its rough-hewn stonework.

The present-day roles of these three mosques are as diverse as their styles. The Muradiye Camii remains Plovdiv's main mosque. It had been severely destabilized by earthquakes in the 19th and 20th centuries and by archeological excavations of classical Philipopolis several decades ago (an archetypal example of attempting to emphasize the classical heritage of Bulgaria at the

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[20] Yerolympos, Alexandra. *Urban transformations in the Balkans, 1820-1920*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996.

[21] Possibly the most striking examples of a grid street plan in Bulgaria is found in Stara Zagora, which was rebuilt on such a plan following its destruction by fire during the Russo-Turkish War. The above-mentioned Mosque of Hamza Bey now stands within this context, as bereft of the surroundings to which it gave meaning as it is of the worshipers on which its own meaning had once in part depended. The transformation of Plovdiv combined grid-layouts in its new districts with preservation of parts of the traditional layout of its center. Sofia opted for a Haussman-inspired plan supplemented by grid-based elements and imposed on a "tabula rasa" created by the destruction of the houses of departing Turks. Only major boulevards cut in late-Ottoman times and the radial moat around the city were retained. The transformation of the center of Sofia also involved an "ethnic cleansing" of its new commercial downtown. Jews, who comprised almost one-third of the population of Sofia immediately after Bulgarian independence, were pressured to move en masse from their traditional quarter to a new quarter (Üç Bunar) to the west of the center. Roma were also expelled from the center and subsequently settled in a quarter just west of that of the Jews. See *ibid*., pp. 45-49.

expense of its Ottoman heritage). The Muradiye has been restored by a joint Turkish-Bulgarian team financed by the municipality of Istanbul under a bilateral Bulgarian-Turkish treaty providing for the conservation of mosques in Bulgaria and Bulgarian churches in Turkey – an important step in reestablishing Ottoman period monuments in their original transnational contexts. The restored mosque re-opened this year.[22] The Imaret Mosque underwent a major restoration in the 1970s under the direction of the late Nikola Mušanov, a Bulgarian architect who worked hard to ensure the preservation of his country's Ottoman heritage. The mosque remains in good condition and is open for midday prayers only.

From mosques to churches: demographic change and the appropriation of religious structures and their histories

The demographic changes occasioned by the forced and voluntary out-migration of large numbers of Muslims following the founding of an independent Bulgarian state led to the abandonment of many urban mosques that had once formed the cores of the settlements in which they were located. Urban mosques stand vacant and in various stages of collapse and disrepair at several locations in southwest Bulgaria, an area with almost no remaining Muslims. Examples include the Fatih Sultan Mehmed Mosque in Kjustendil, the Mosque of Ahmed Bey in Dupnica, and the Mosque of Karaca Paşa in Goce Delčev (Nevrokop), all dating from between the mid-15th and early-16th centuries. In Razgrad in northeast Bulgaria, the above-mentioned Mosque of İbrahim Paşa, built as a symbol of Sunni Islam and sultanic control, now stands empty.[23] Over the last century, the regional control function of Razgrad was appropriated by Christian Bulgaria and the city was transformed into a predominantly ethnically Bulgarian and religiously Orthodox Christian bastion in the midst of what is still a mostly Turkish-speaking and largely heterodox region,[24] a secular version of the processes of appropriation described by F. W. Hasluck in his classic *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*.[25] In other cities and towns, mosques maintained their functions, but their centrality was displaced by the construction, either adjacent to them or at newly carved-out town centers, of large Bulgarian Orthodox churches.[26]

In other locales, forms of appropriation have been in one sense more extreme but in another far more appropriate. The late-16th-century former Mosque of Koca Sinan Paşa in the now near-desolate village of Uzundžovo in Bulgarian Thrace was converted into a church in 1906 and re-named after Sveta Bogorodica ("the holy mother of God"). During Ottoman times, Uzundžovo stood at the crossroads of the main military and trade route towards Sofia, Belgrade, and Vienna and the road northwards towards Lemberg (present-day Lviv) and Russia beyond. Thus, Uzundžovo was for centuries a way-station in the lucrative silk-for-fur trade and the site of one of the most important Ottoman commercial fairs in the Balkans.

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[22] For more on the history, decline, and restoration of the Muradiye see Lewis, Stephen. "A restored coincidence", http://www.bubkes.org/stories/storyReader$443.

[23] Not only empty but partially looted. The portico of the mosques was razed by invading Russian armies and its marble columns taken to Russia as spoils of war. The scars created on over the entrance way to mosque by the demolition of the portico are still visible.

[24] When Professor Kiel visited Razgrad in the 1970s, the town's historic *hamam* was still standing. One decade thereafter, it was razed. Its former site is marked by a towering, phoenix-like sculpture honoring the resurrection of Bulgarian national identity.

[25] Hasluck, F. W. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1929.

[26] Examples abound throughout Bulgaria. Most well known is that of Sofia, where the church of Sveti Kral was built at the historic main crossroad of the city not far from the Banya Başı (Molla Efendi) Camii (1570), presently the only functioning mosque in Sofia. The original church was blown up during in the early 1920s in an attempted assassination of the king of Bulgaria and the general staff of the country's armed forces. Sveti Kral was replaced by the present structure, the church of Sveta Nedelja. In the folkways and political propaganda of Bulgaria, the proximity of the church to the mosque and to the nearby early-twentieth Central Synagogue is touted as a symbol of "traditional Bulgarian tolerance." In actuality it was a visible symbol of the usurpation of political power and religious hegemony.

The transformation of the mosque at Uzundžovo into a church, however, enabled the continued use of the structure as a place of worship and ensured the survival of an immense and beautiful monument absurdly stranded in a small, no longer important, locale suddenly without a Muslim population. Architecturally, the transformation entailed only minimal interventions. The original dome of the structure was surmounted with a smaller onion-shaped dome topped by a cross. A cruciform roof was created by adding four barrel-vaulted elements each radiating from alternate facets of the octagonal transitional drum on which the original dome rests. Finally, an opening into the *qibla* wall made way for the addition of an apse. The result is a surprisingly graceful *Jugendstil*-influenced remodeling that obscures neither the form nor function of the original, and that preserves many of the building's characteristically Ottoman decorative elements.

The mid-16th century Mosque of Sofi Mehmed Paşa at Sofia – colloquially the Black Mosque, this after its long-ago dismantled minaret of black basalt – is said to have been based on a design by Mimar Sinan. The mosque was remodeled into a church early in the early-20th century and renamed the Church of the Sedmočislenici after the Saints Cyril and Methodius, the so-called fathers of Slavic literacy, and their disciples. Following the sudden drop in the population of Sofia in the aftermath of the severe earthquakes that wracked the city in the mid-nineteenth century, the mosque and its precincts had been used as a barracks, munitions dump, and jail. The mosque remained empty after the flight of Sofia's Muslim population following Bulgaria's independence.

Unlike the conversion of the mosque at Uzundžovo, the remodeling of Sofi Mehmed Paşa was heavy-handed. Its exterior was encrusted with neo-Byzantine decorative elements, changing its appearance radically. A vaulted entrance way flanked by two bell-towers was built onto the front of the sanctuary in place of its origin multi-domed portico. It spacious interior, unobstructed by columns or piers, however, still betrays its Ottoman origins. The building's domed ceiling – 23 meters in diameter – spans the full length and width of its sanctuary. Still, the church lacks the brightness and fenestration associated with Sinan and school. Indeed, the remodeling closed off a number of the former light sources, creating a self-conscious atmosphere of stereotypical "mystery" associated with Eastern Orthodox places of prayer.

In the case of both former mosques, attempts were made to justify their conversion by staking claim to their histories as well. An incised stone marker at Uzundžovo reads: "Here at the site of an old Bulgarian church, in approximately 1593, a Turkish mosque was built that in 1906 was transformed into a Christian shrine." The presence and identity of any such past church at the site, however, remains to be verified, and, if a church did exist at the site, it may have been equally likely to have been Byzantine.

A plaque mounted in the interior of the entrance way to the Sedmočislenici in Sofia takes a different tack. It attempts to usurp legitimacy by appropriating the builder rather than the building, i.e. by claiming that the architect was ... a Bulgarian! According to the plaque, the Black Mosque was the work of "Hodža Sinan, a Bulgarian janissary from Široka Lǎka", a town in the central Rhodope mountains once renowned for its builders. Whatever ambiguities surround Sinan's origins, he was certainly neither Bulgarian nor from Bulgaria.

Conclusion: a monument bereft of past, present, and future

By way of a conclusion, one of the oldest Ottoman structures in the Balkans – the *imaret/zaviye* at Ihtiman, a one-time caravan stop between Plovdiv and Sofia – provides a case study of a monument totally divorced from infrastructural and intentional contexts, past, present, and future, and currently derelict and threatened with disappearance as a result.

The founding of this building is associated with Mahmud Bey son of Mihaloğlu İlyas Bey

of the Mihaloğlu family of *akıncı*s, thus placing it solidly in the context the infrastructure of early Ottoman advance and the social infrastructure of solidification of power, propagation of belief, and facilitation of trade that engendered and was served by the combined functions of meeting place, hospice, and refectory such buildings served. Architecturally, the Ihtiman structure combines a T-shaped form with robust and fantasy-rich brick and stone work, a fusing, as it were, of early-Ottoman and late-Byzantine styles and techniques of construction. Photos of the site taken a century ago indicate that the ground level around the structure to have risen by well over a meter since, giving the remains of the structure a squat appearance that obscures it original gracefulness.[27] Kiel dated the building to the last quarter of the 14th century based on archival evidence. In 1999, the present writer, with the permission of Bulgaria's Ministry of Culture, extracted a number of brick samples from the structure which Kiel forwarded to the University of Durham in England for dating. The results of the analysis were congruent with Kiel's archival findings.

With the consolidation of sultanic power and Sunni Islam in the 16th century, the Ihtiman *imaret* was transformed into a mosque, a function it maintained until early in the 20th, by which time most of the Muslims who it had served had departed from Ihtiman, leaving the town to be repopulated by Bulgarians and Roma from the surroundings. Some years prior to the end of the communist period, a plan was prepared for the restoration of the structure but was never implemented, possibly due to the officially promoted and popularly accepted anti-Muslim, anti-Turkish hysteria in Bulgaria at the time.[28]

The *imaret* at Ihtiman has been derelict and unguarded for decades. At least as late as 2007 it served as a garbage dump, children's playground, drug users' refuge, and improvised public toilet despite its location in the yard of an elementary school. Its prospects for conservation or restoration were comprised in concert by its past identity as a mosque, by potentially competing claims to its ownership between local and regional authorities and the office of the Mufti of Bulgaria, and by its setting at the edge of Ihtiman's Roma quarter, a location not granted top priority by local authorities. By contrast, the Ottoman *hamam* at Ihtiman was restored more than 20 years ago and since then has served as a café and discotheque and more recently as an arts and crafts gallery patronized by Sofiotes and expatriate foreign visitors to Ihtiman's new golf courses.

The recent fate of Ihtiman itself also influenced the fate of the monument. Construction of a new highway from Sofia to Plovdiv in the 1970s bypassed and marginalized Ihtiman, as did the collapse of the town's industrial base at the end of the communist period. Until quite recently, Ihtiman, due to renewed interest in its location between Sofia and Plovdiv, was expected to reemerge as an "exurb" – a distant bedroom community and commercial and service suburb – to the expanding capital city of Sofia. Prices of land, including that on which the crumbling Imaret stands, were expected to rise and the center of the town to be redeveloped to fit Ihtiman's foreseen new roles. Whether such developments would have saved or threatened the Imaret remained to be seen. As the present contribution goes to press, the picture is even less clear. The international banking crisis and credit-crunch coupled with rising oil prices are leveraging other shifts in infrastructure; loans and capital for building is scarce and the days of cheap automobile transportation and automobile-based exurbia are numbered, if not past.

Also, despite Bulgaria's entry into the multi-national, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious European Union, the country's self-definition and ethos appear to remain stuck in the mind-set of the artificially contrived and exclusionary mono-ethnic, mono-religious 19th-century nation state. Until Bulgaria sees its Ottoman past as part of its own heritage, and the heritage of its

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[27] See Eyice, Semavi. "Sofya yakınında İhtiman'da Gaazî Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey İmaret-Câmii", in: *Kubbealtı akademi mecmûası*, Vol. 4., No. 2 (April 1975), pp. 49-61.
[28] The plan, complete with drawings, artists' impressions, and cost calculations, can be found in the archives of the National Monuments Commission, Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia.

Turkish, Roma, and Slavic Muslim citizens as equally inherent to the identity of the nation and its place in Europe as its self-defined Slavic Christian narrative is, the future of the Ihtiman *imaret* remains bleak. Only a broadening of consciousness and concepts of responsibility beyond national borders can save monuments that sprang from infrastructural contexts that predated and transcended such boundaries.

Ill. 1. Orta Mezar Camii, Plovdiv, Bulgaria. View of *mihrab* wall, 2005.

Ill. 2. Orta Mezar Camii, Plovdiv, Bulgaria. Interior as converted to a restaurant, 1997.

Ill. 3. Uzundžovo, the late-16th-century Mosque of Koca Sinan Pasha, converted into a church in 1908 and re-named after Sveta Bogorodica ("the holy mother of God"), 2004.

Ill. 4. The mid-16th century Mosque of Sofi Mehmed Pasha at Sofia – colloquially the Black Mosque, this after its long-ago dismantled minaret of black basalt – was remodeled and converted into a church early in the 20th century and redubbed the Church of the Sedmočislenici, after Saints Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, traditionally described as fathers of Slavic literacy, 2009.
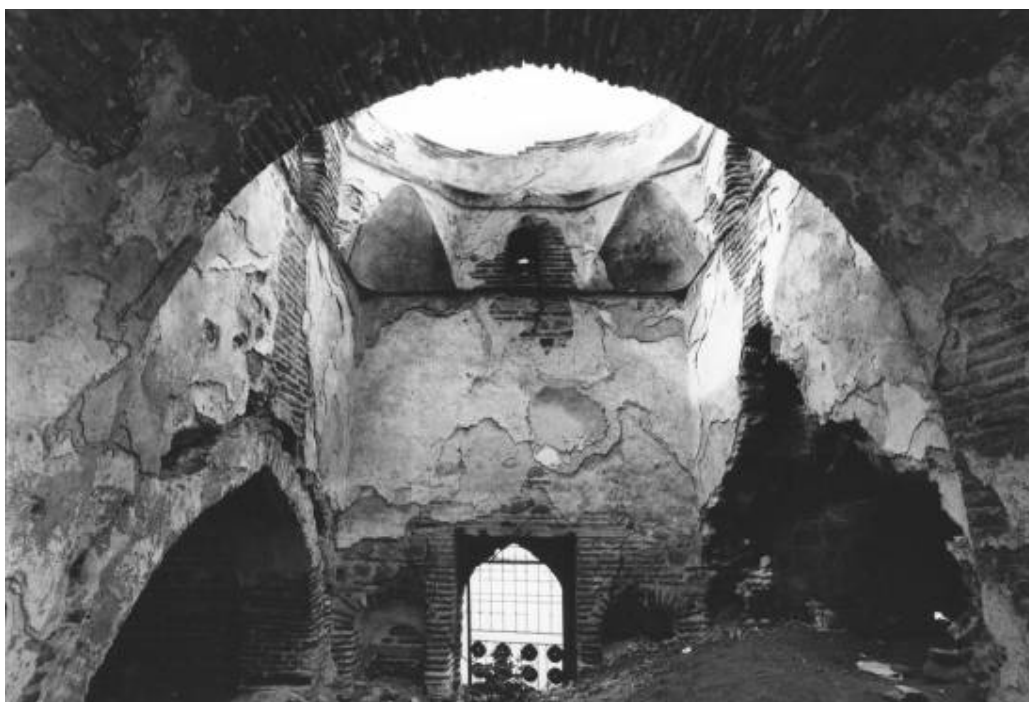
Ill. 5. The late-14ᵗʰ-century Imaret at Ihtiman, frontal view, 1999.

Ill. 6. Ihtiman Imaret, diagonal view from left rear, 1997.

Ill. 7. Ihtiman Imaret, interior view of main vaulted chamber, 1997.

Ill. 8. Ihtiman Imaret. Central vestibule, view towards entranceway from longitudinal main chamber, 1997.

Ill. 9. Late-14ᵗʰ-century Imaret at Ihtiman, view of chimney passage above the vaulted entrance from the central vestibule to the left lateral chamber, 1998. The presence of such chimney passages indicates that the left and right lateral chambers of the structure originally had been separated from the central vestibule by closed walls, and that the lateral chambers had been fitted with and heated by *ocak*s, indicating their probable use as refectory and/or hospice respectively. Arched passageways connecting the vestibule to the lateral chambers were like to have been created after the conversion of the structure to a mosque, this probably in the 16ᵗʰ century as per the case of the *imaret*/mosque of Gazi Şihabuddin Paşa in nearby Plovdiv.

Architecture of Residential Buildings in Bulgaria from the Revival Period

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ABSTRACT. **The paper considers house architecture in Bulgarian lands during the Revival period –from the end of 18th century to the end of 19th century. The paper also examines the impact of climate, religion, livelihood, etc. on the development of different regional types. The resulting composition, structure, architectural image and interior, as well as adaptability to terrain conditions, adequacy to social requirements, building traditions are analyzed. Similarities, differences and local features are being considered with the intent to follow the evolution and spread of architecture, typical of the Balkan region. Comparisons are drawn between the rich city houses in Plovdiv, Koprivshtiza, Melnik, Samokov, etc., and Turkish houses in Istanbul, Edirne, Safranbolu, etc. By complying with various religious, functional, representative, climatic and terrain requirements, a distinguishable architectural language can be traced.**

KEYWORDS: **building tradition, residential architecture, revival architectural style, national heritage**

The Bulgarian town house from the period of Late Revival has been particularly well studied and documented by a generation of researchers from the first and second half of the 20th century, with an increasing interest and appreciation, as time passed. We can say today that important Revival houses, rebuilt, reconstructed or restored, are highly valued as national heritage, as proof of the talent and artistic achievement of Bulgarian master-builders from the 19th century.

Late Revival town houses feature symmetry as their most typical feature. In the 60s, authors were divided on the issue of architectural influences and origin of style. Some came to the conclusion that they were Baroque houses [1; 2], others stated that Revival houses demonstrated the influence of Italian Renaissance [4]. Also, Chr. Peev [4] pointed out influences coming both by way of following examples from Istanbul, according to the desire of house-owners, or the building style developed by the master-builders, who travelled the whole Balkan peninsula (including Istanbul) in order to build for different investors. M. Bichev stated there were three different centres of architectural influence: Odessa, Vienna and Istanbul, pointing out that Vienna influence should not be underestimated at all [1]. He is of the opinion that these houses show characteristic Baroque features, like the dynamic role of the staircase in the composition, the clearly defined axes of symmetry, concave-convex elements on the facade, such as bow pediments, bow-jetties, the oval reception hall on the second floor, etc. Later, G. Kojuharov and R. Angelova stressed on the "genetic connection and first-hand role of the local architectural and building tradition in the creation and evolution of the closed symmetric house, without denouncing the presence of foreign reference and influence on the evolution and formation of its architectural image" [3]. All
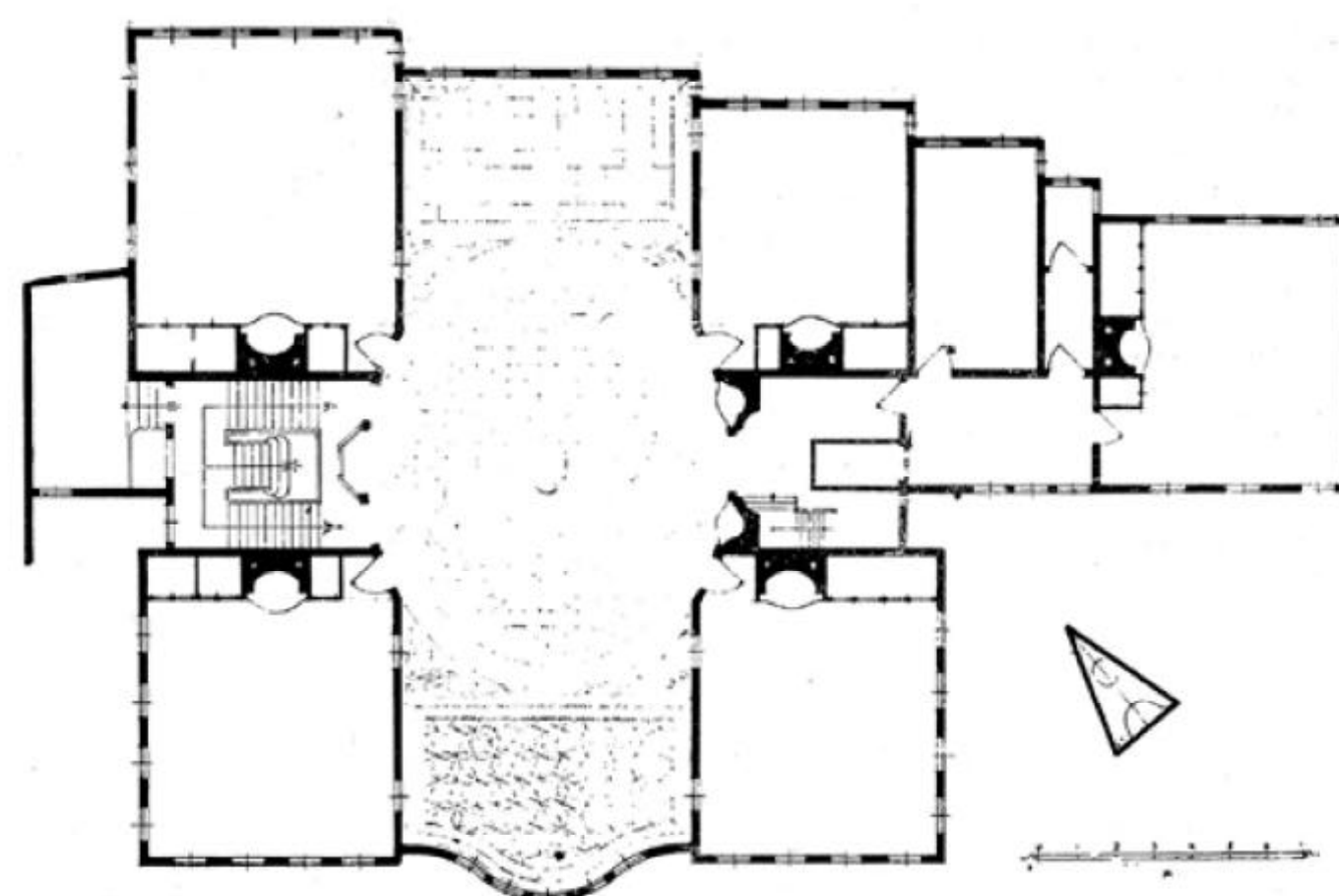

Fig. 1–3. Argir Koyumdjioglu House in Plovdiv. Hayat of the upper floor, façade [8], plan of upper floor.

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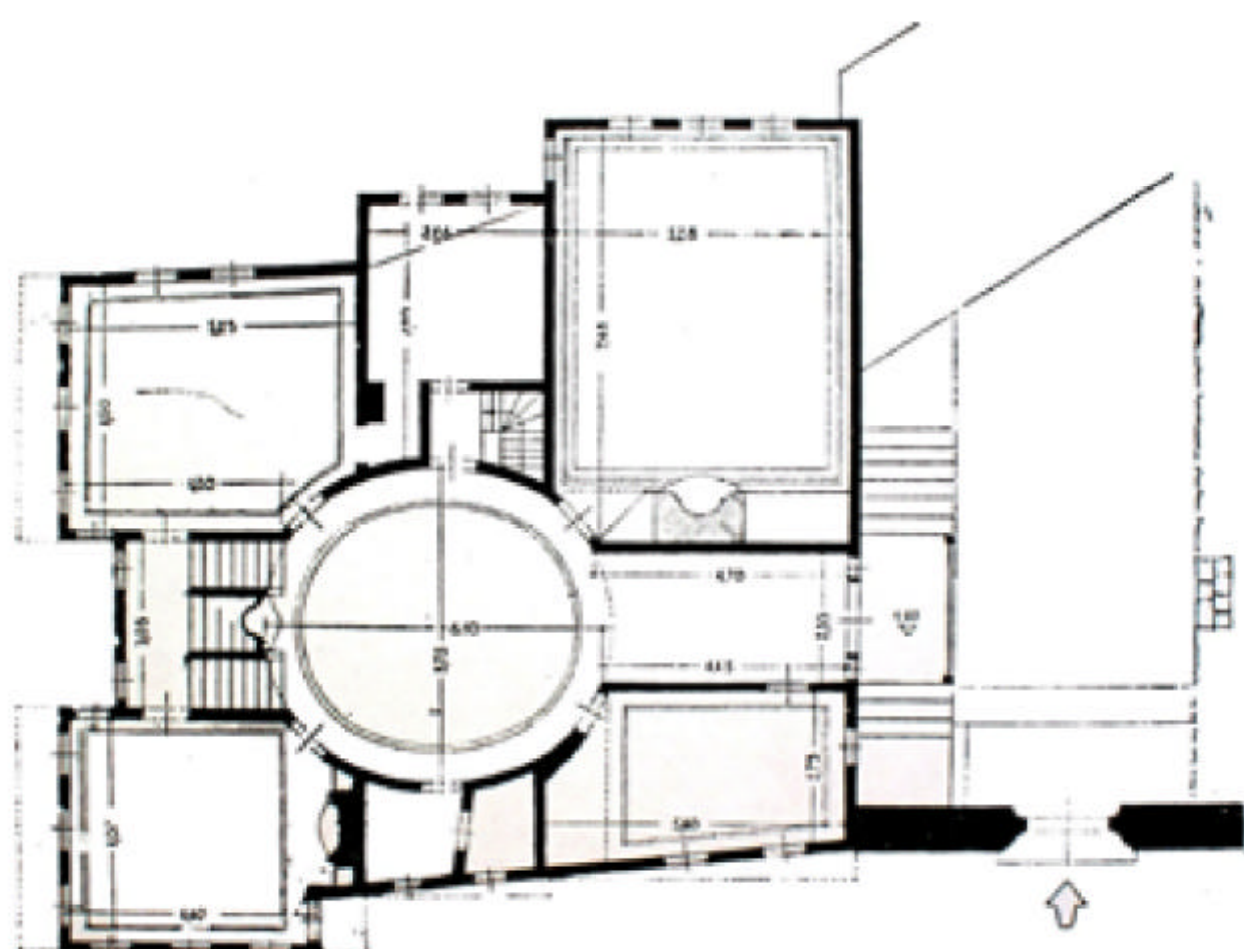
Fig. 4–5. Georgi Mavridi House (Lamartin House) in Plovdiv. Street façade [9], plan of the first floor.
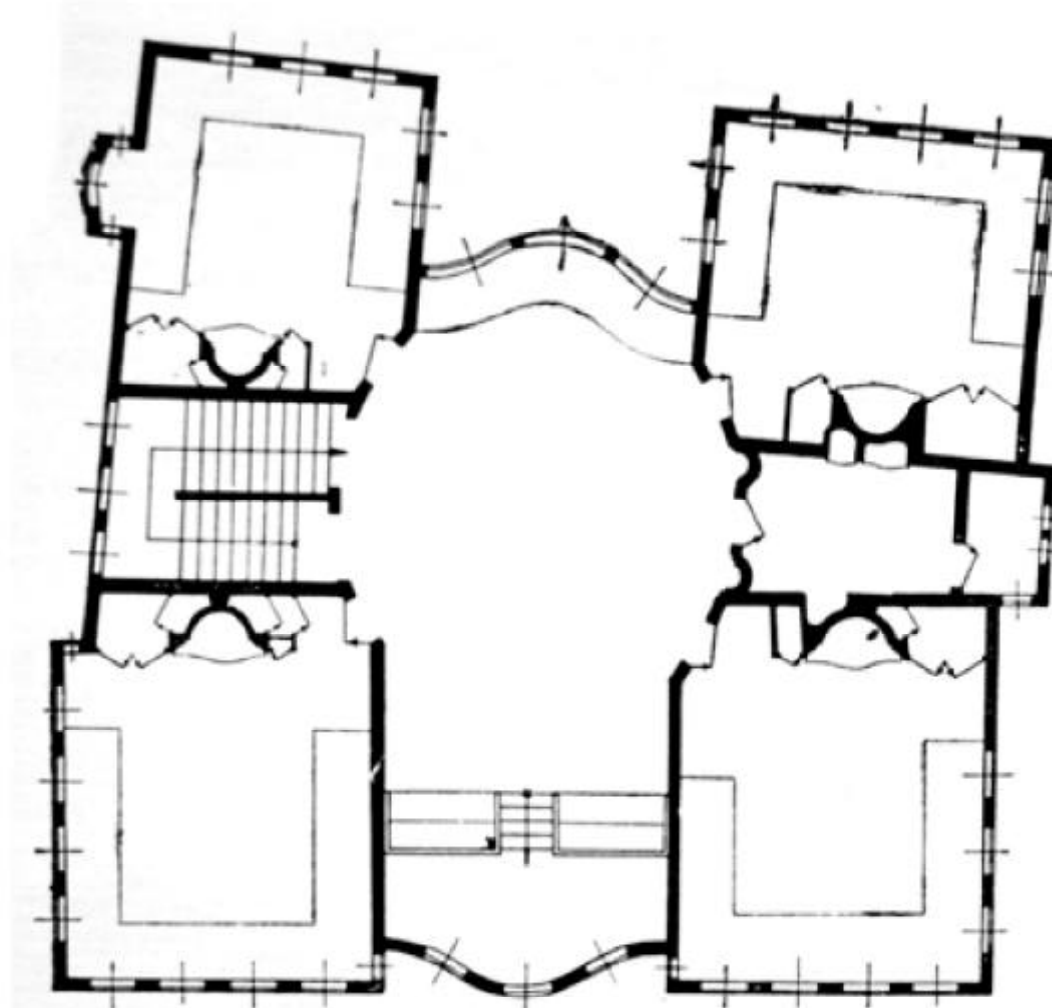
Fig. 6–7. Dimitar Georgiadi House. Street façade [8], first floor plan.

authors agree on the presence of such foreign influence, but are of the opinion that the local tradition marks a long evolution, followed by these builders, creating a typical architectural language.

The purpose of this paper is to outline common features and differences between Bulgarian town houses in Plovdiv, Koprivshtitza, Samokov, Melnik and Turkish houses in Istanbul, Safranbolu, etc.

However, first of all, the basic formative factors of these buildings will be outlined.

I. The Late Revival Bulgarian Town House

Function. The Later Revival Town houses in Bulgarian lands were built for formal, representative functions. They differed considerably from the earlier traditional type of house, built at the beginning of the 19th century, where the main activity was the processing of crops or craft production (weaving, spinning of wool etc.). The basement was used for living, while the upper storey was used for large gatherings of people on family festive occasions, such as marriage, baptising, etc. These events took place in the large vestibule on the main storey, with a place for musicians. The representative storey had a symmetrical composition, consisting of a central hall, (*hayat*), and usually four rooms flanked the hall on both sides; one of which was used for guests, one was a ladies' reception, other – a study of the owner, etc. Those rooms had windows looking into the hall. Such houses were owned by rich merchants or bankers in Plovdiv, Koprivshtiza, Russe, etc. Some Bulgarian architectural historians pointed out that this large hall was the closed-in balcony (*chardak*) in earlier village houses.
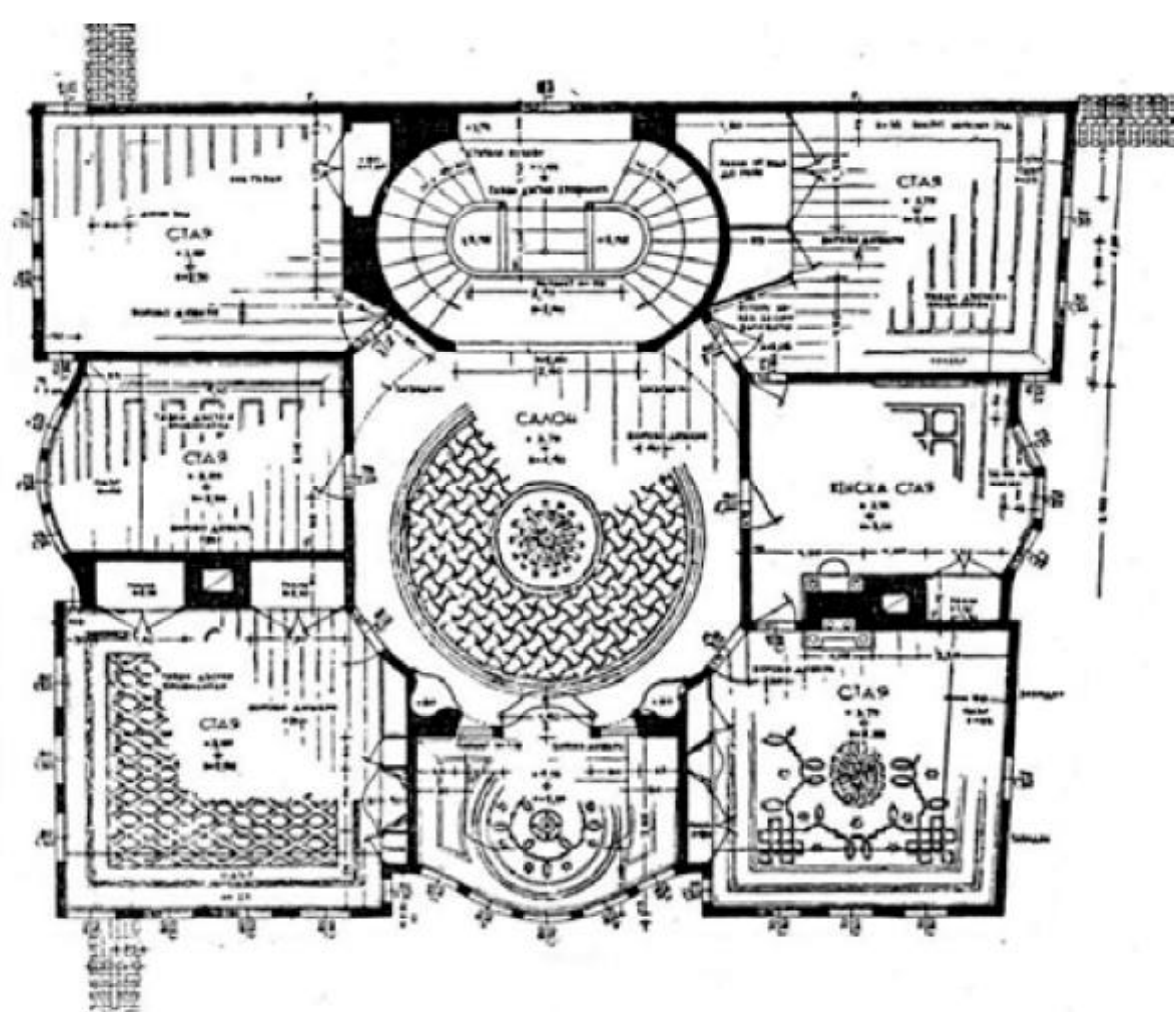
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Fig. 8–9. Kableshkov House in Koprivshtiza. Yard façade, upper floor plan.

Fig. 10–11. Arie House in Samokov. Façade and interior [8].

Climatic and Terrain Solutions. Considering the terrain and climate, two types of *site planning solutions* were possible, according to Chr. Peev [4]:

1. The house overlooked the street, when the plot bordered the street line, and had its official entrance directly from the street.
2. The house was of a freestanding type, surrounded by a garden. The main entrance gate was set in a high wall surrounding the plot; from there the visitor could enter the house by a stately entrance door under a bow-pediment portico.

Climatic conditions in Plovdiv allowed the houses to be built of the half-timber structure because of the considerably higher summer temperatures; the walls did not have to be too thick.

People used the basement (which was stone-built) as basic dwelling space (also in winter); the upper floor was kept as reception space and was warmed with fireplaces accordingly.

Structure. The houses were of a mixed *structure*: basements were built of stone masonry, while the major storey was of the half-timber structure. The walls were built with vertical wooden structural members (posts) spaced approx. 70 to 80 cm, forming bays filled with mud bricks or stone rubble, and the wall thus formed was plastered on both sides, with the facade decorated with beautiful wall paintings. The windows were set in slightly wider bays (1.00–1.10 m according to Chr. Peev [5]), grouped by two or three to form a compositional element on the facade. The house was covered by a wooden roof structure with wide overhanging eaves, covered by ceramic tiles/roof slate slabs in
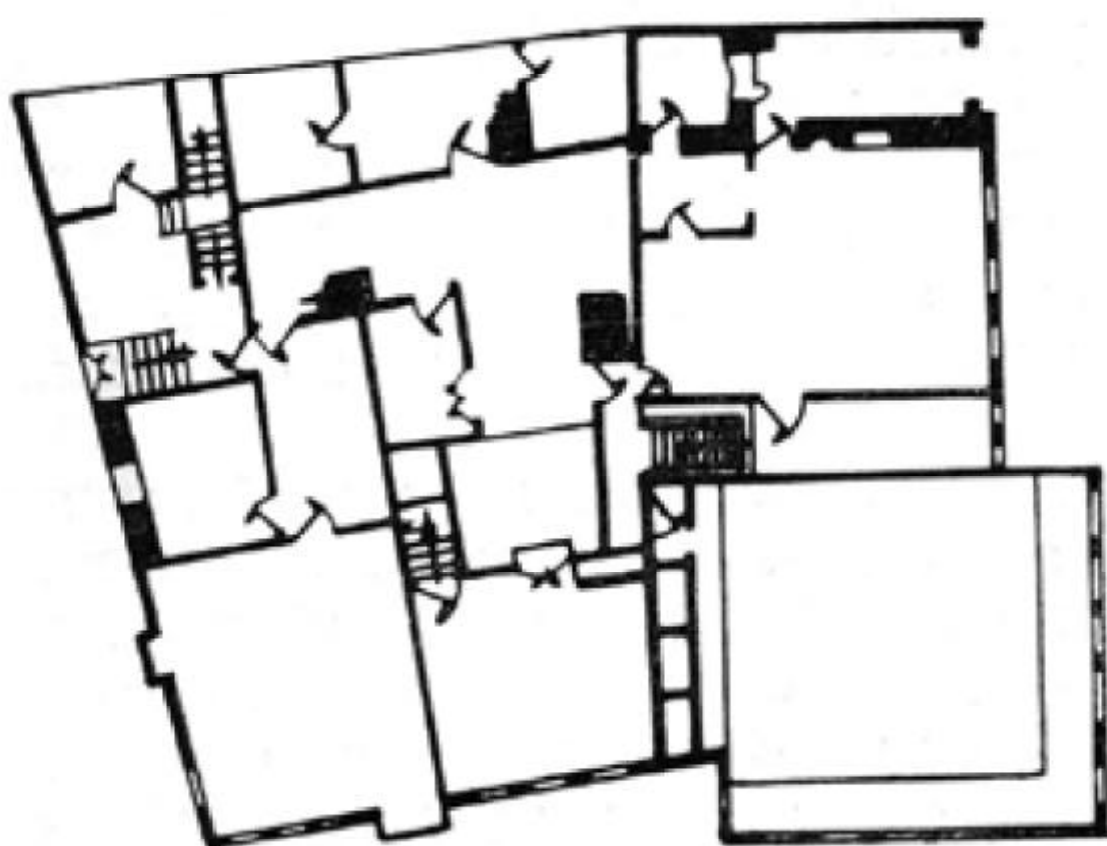
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Fig. 15. Ahmet Afif Pasa Yali (Waterside mansion), Yenikoy. [12]

Fig. 12–14. Melnik, Kordopulu House. Façade [10], interior [11] and main floor plan.

Fig. 16. Safranbolu traditional house. [13]

mountain areas. The use of wooden roof structure developed rather big structural bays: Koyumdjioglu house in Plovdiv has its main storey *hayat* in the form of an ellipse, measuring 7 by 11 m; The Big House of Arie in Samokov, a real palace, torn down in 1947, had a rectangular hayat, measuring 27 by 7.60 m.

Architecture. Late Revival residential architecture can be divided into two major types: single storied houses; and two or more storied houses. *The single storied type* had a stone-mason basement, partly dug out in the terrain, usually used as storage area or kitchen and bath or other purposes. An entrance was reached by two symmetrical flights of steps, reaching a landing, approx. 1.0–1.50 m level above the court. Under this landing, another flight of steps lead down to a low central door of the basement. After climbing the entrance steps one entered a large

vestibule with a ceiling higher than the adjacent rooms. This entrance vestibule had a stately and ornamented wood carved ceiling with a central 'sun' – applied wooden rosette. This hall had a rectangular, oval/elliptic or round form. *The two storied house* had a considerably lower stone basement, a central hayat reached by a stately entrance under a two- or four-columned portico, recessed to form an entrance niche, leading to a large ground floor hall, thus forming a strong axis to a beautiful symmetrical stair at the bottom of the hall. This stair consisted of two flights of steps, leading up to the larger and higher hall upstairs. This one followed the rules listed above: elliptical or round form, a ceiling higher than the adjacent rooms. A wooden ceiling culminated the composition with a central rosette symbolizing the sun. The adjacent rooms were symmetrical on both sides of the hall;

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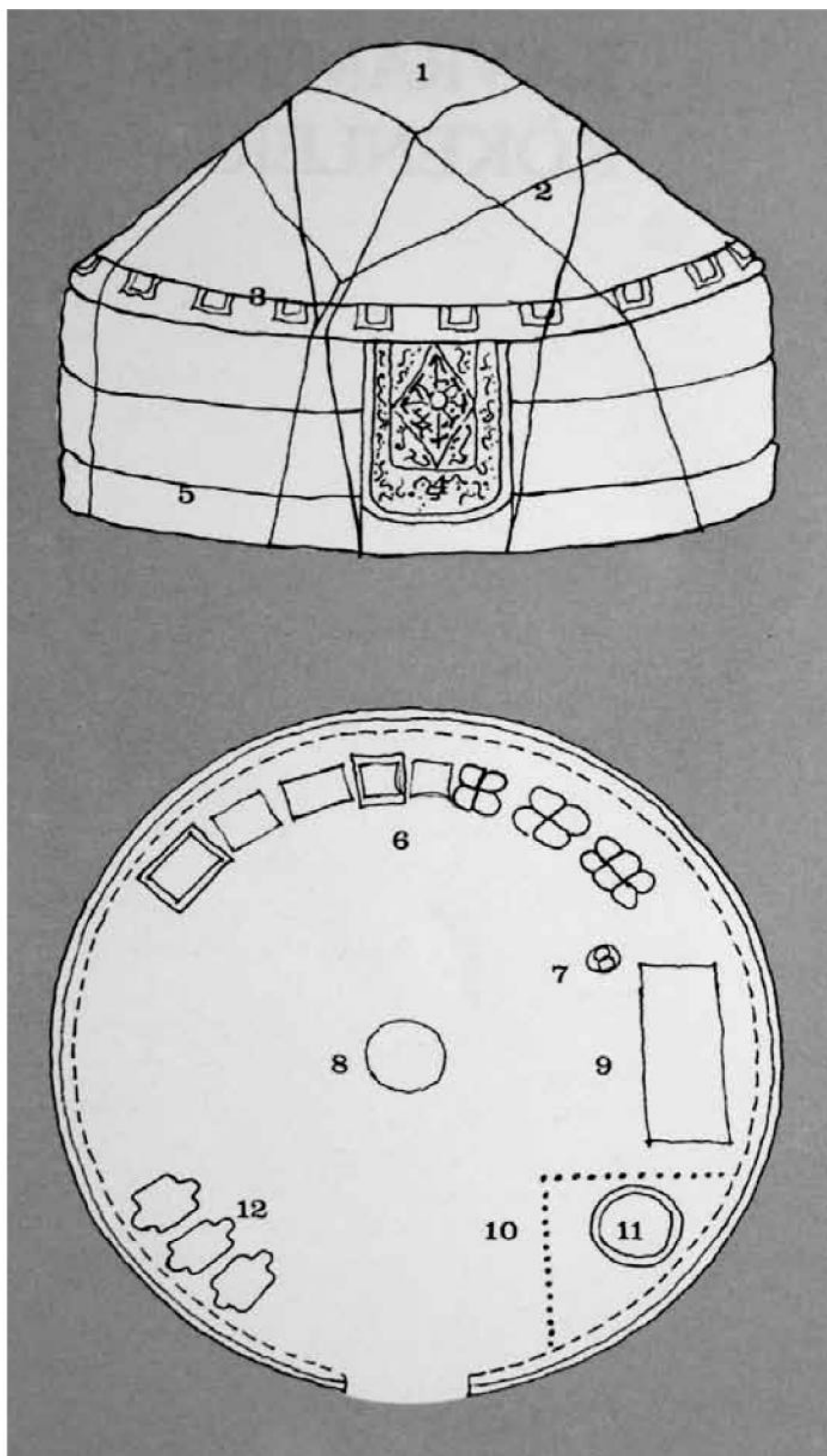
Fig. 17. The organization of space in the nomadic tent: 1. Chimney opening; 2. Main top cover; 3. Ridge; 4. Felt door curtain; 5. Side cover; 6. Chest; 7. Iron stake for hanging clothes and weapons; 8. Hearth; 9. Raised seating platform; 10. Rush mat seating; 11. Mare's milk containers; 12. Frames for saddles and harness; 13. Threshold. Source: Kucukerman O. [7]
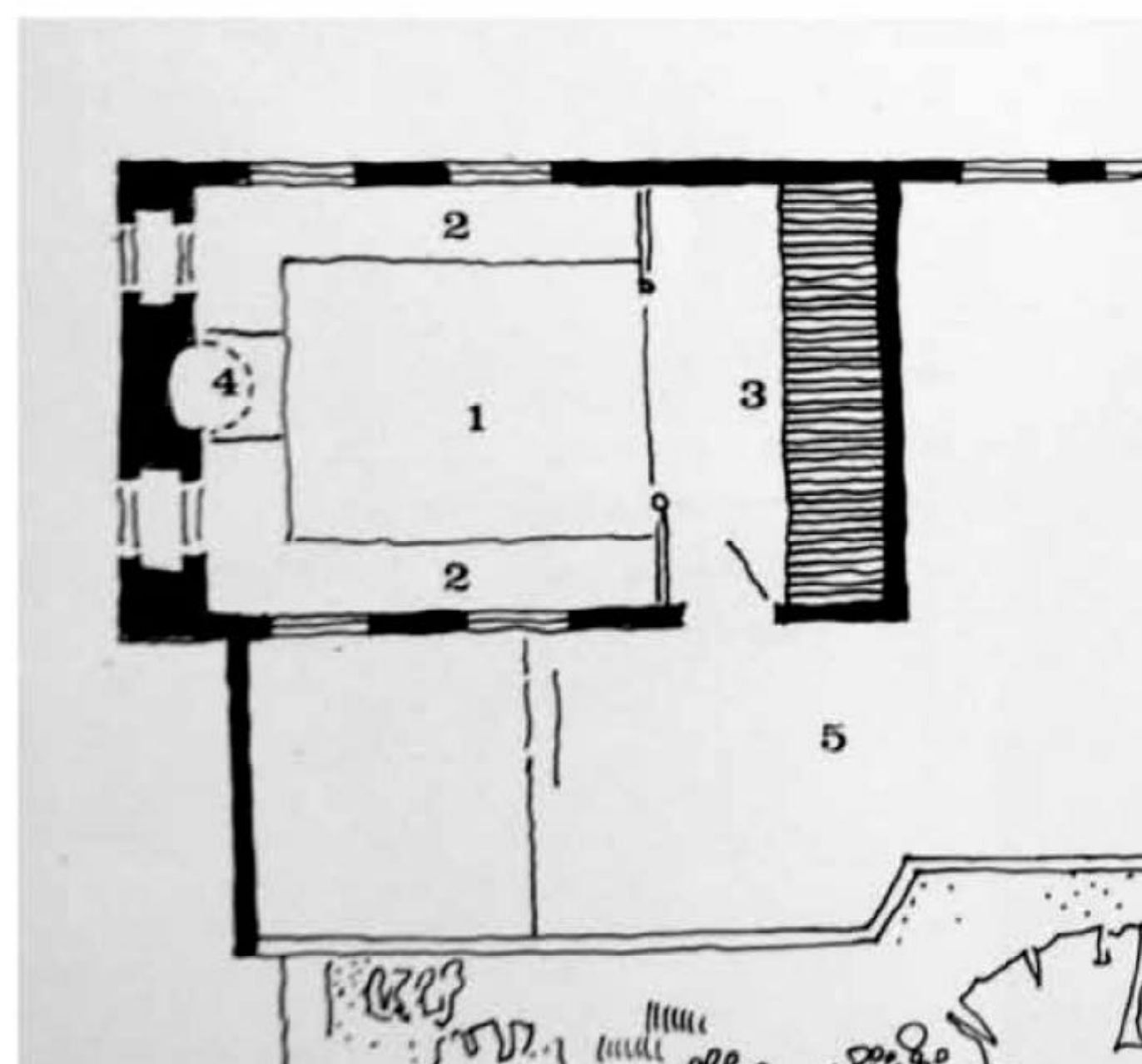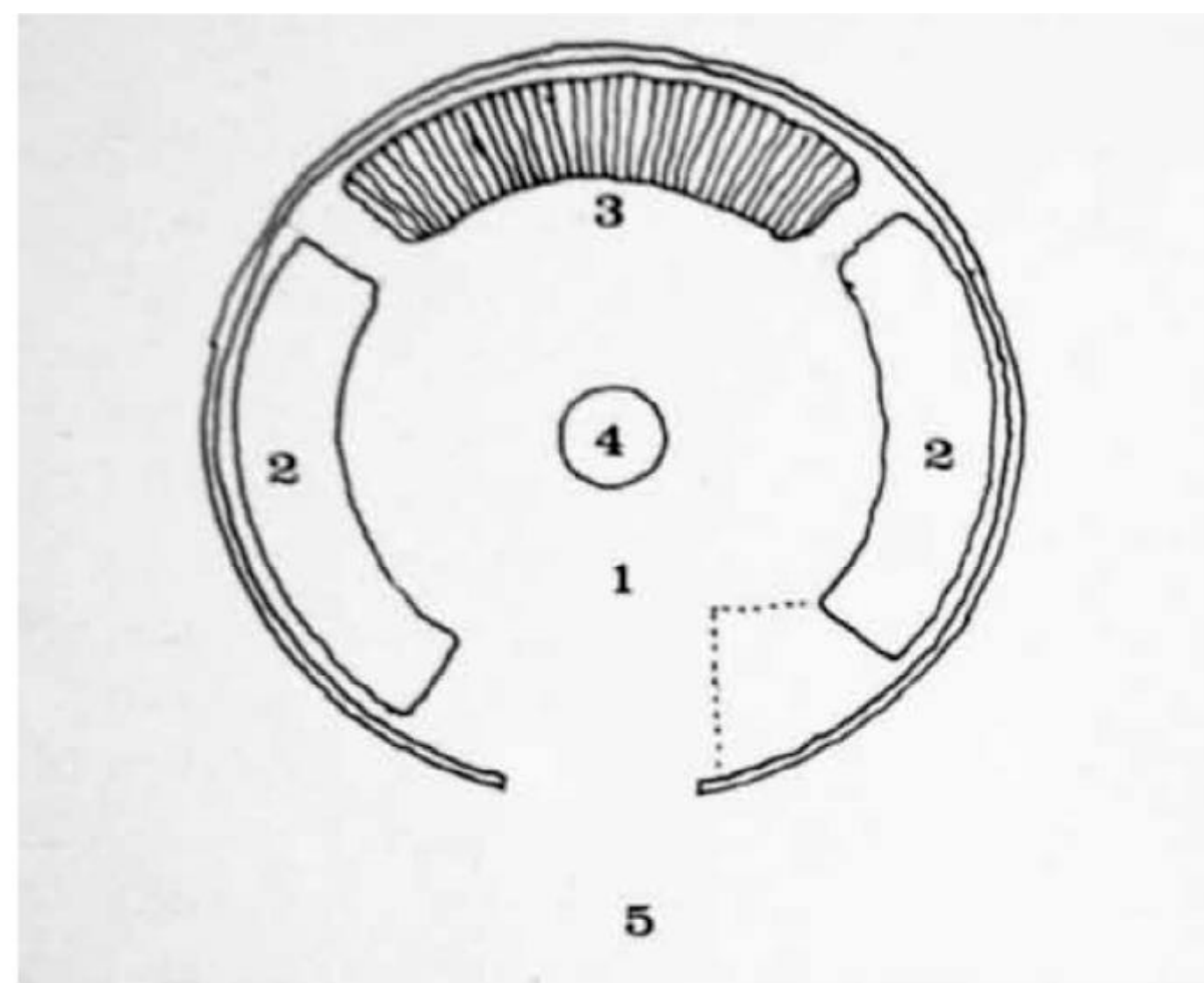

Fig. 18. Comparison of the organization of space in the tent and the house. 1. Multi-purpose central area; 2. Periphery used for seating; 3. Closed utility areas, cupboards, chests, bedding; 4. Heating. The central hearth in the tent is moved to a side wall in the house. Source: Kucukerman O. [7]

their doors flanked decorative niches in the concave walls of the hayat, pointing out a secondary axis, perpendicular to the major one. Bichev [1], pointed out the dynamic composition, alternating different spatial elements to culminate in this room.

Interior. Wood carving and wall-painting were the most typical decorative approaches to treat the basic surfaces of the *interior*: ceilings, walls, built-in storage units, fireplaces, window frames, etc. Ceilings consisted of a large decorative frame, surrounding a flat zone formed by wide planks and decorated with shaped thin wooden slats, nailed over the joints between planks. These slats usually formed a decorative pattern in the form of a net or a more elaborate star pattern. In the centre, a rosette was attached, made up of a circular arrangement of separate carved elements to form the sun. The ceiling was coved, painted with round twigs and

flowers in the Renaissance tradition. Wood carving decorated the built-in cupboards in the walls with doors richly decorated with carved panels and shaped frames. In the centre of the cupboards, a decorative arched niche was set, which was flanked by two rows of arched ventilation openings. This niche had a wooden or marble horizontal top in front; its surface was decorated with wall-paintings with architectural landscapes, flower vases, faraway exotic sea ports, palaces, gardens. Traditionally, furnishing consisted of built-in seating under the windows. The windows were set in wooden frames, crested with bow pediments; from the outside they had wooden shutters. Above the windows, a long shelf was fitted so that it covered all interior built-in units and the fireplace. On the upper storey, rooms had the cupboard-cum-niche arrangement, while heating was done with

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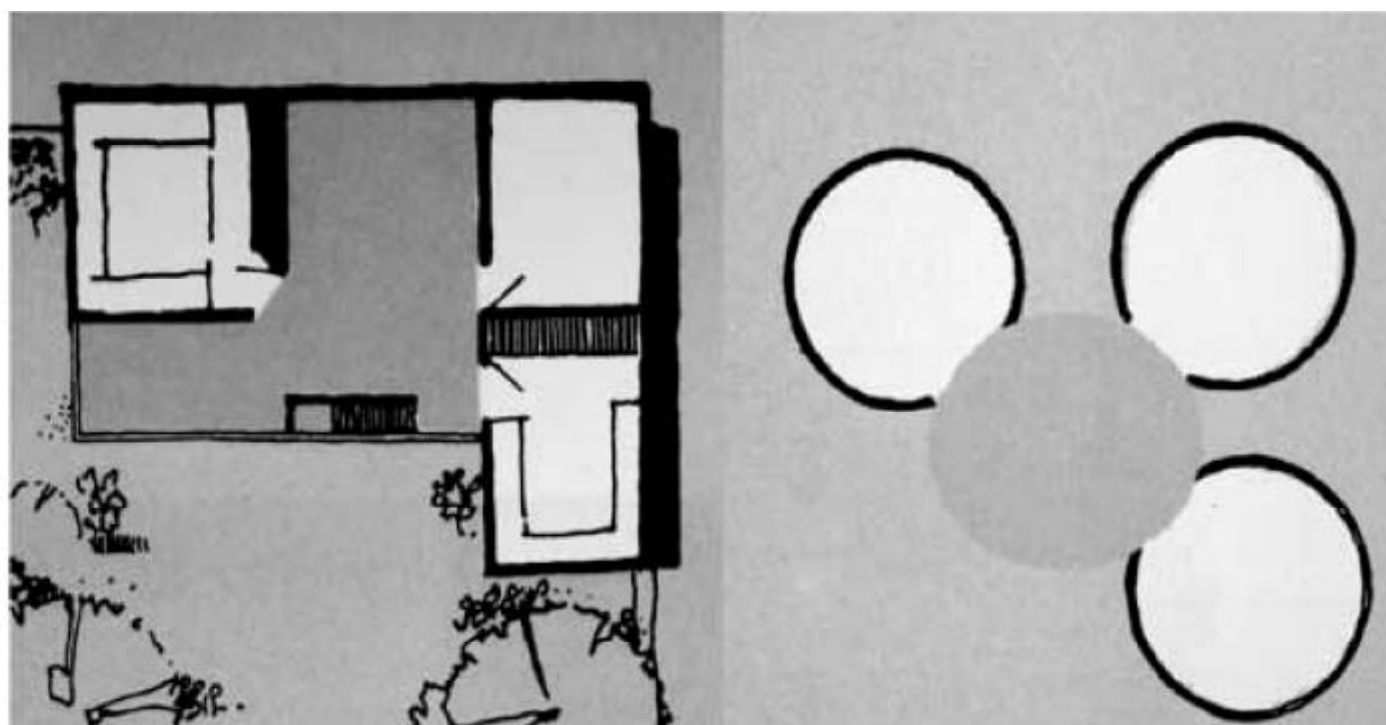
Fig. 19. Genesis of the sofa as an intermediate space between the rooms. Both the group of tents and the living units share a common area. „The relationship between the rooms and the sofa in the house is the same as that between the individual tents and their common area", Source: Kucukerman O. [7]

Fig. 20–21. Turkish house from Youruk Village, Safranbolu. Interior [14] and fireplace [15].

braziers; cooking was altogether removed to the living part of the house on the first storey. Walls were decorated with painted pilasters with capitals, dividing the surface into decorative panels with landscape paintings. Floors were covered with rugs. Imported furniture from Vienna or Paris formed groups according to the room function: armchairs, sofas, tables; or writing table with armchair, etc.

Examples. The Symmetrical Town House, as it is called in Bulgarian scientific publications, is well represented in Plovdiv, Koprivshtitza, Karlovo, Samokov, Russe, Melnik etc. In this publication, the examples are provided from these cities, including views, plans, interiors to show the typical architecture and furnishing.

II. THE TURKISH HOUSE

Evolution, Basic Elements and Spatial Relationships. "The traditional Turkish houses started to be built in Anatolian cities in the 15th and 16th centuries and spread all over the Ottoman Empire. In different regions, different types were built, depending on the climate and geographical conditions, local resources and culture" [7]. The traditional Turkish house evolved from the dwelling of the nomad tribes: the tent, or yurt. Kucukerman [6] stated that the house, as the successor to the tent, kept the same functions and the same relations between the individual tents (rooms in the house) and their common area, called a *sofa*. Each room was multi-functional, it provided space for sleeping, seating, cooking, eating and even bathing. In this way, the room in a Turkish house was autonomous, and the several rooms on the storey were actually a model of the family; they all shared a common sofa, which was their uniting space. The room itself had a clear three-partite division of the space. First, there was an area, which served as an entrance zone. In it, the built-in wardrobes were placed, and in the same row, the entrance door was hidden in such a way, that none from the sofa space could see inside. This area was also used by servants, who waited for orders. Next, there was a raised zone, with its periphery used for seating. This zone was made special both by the raising of level (one step high) and by means of a low parapet and columns, supporting arches. The ceiling was, therefore, developed in two parts: the entrance and the room. The fireplace was set in the larger space. All wall elements: fireplace, windows, cupboards and wardrobes, were neatly organized under one uniting element: a shelf about 2.2 m high from the floor; above this shelf there was only the even white surface of the wall with decorative stained windows. This second row of windows was a specific feature, giving the room definition in relation to height, and a brilliant effect of coloured light falling on the white wall opposite. Furniture was built-in seating around a central free space, which could be used either for eating or sleeping. A low round table was laid; people sat around it for meals. For sleeping, either mattresses were laid on the floor, to be taken away during the day, or the built-in seating was used. In this way, the living storey consisted of these independent rooms gathered around the central sofa space." "One of the rooms may be designated for the use of the head of the household – although its spatial interrelationships are the same as the other rooms – and is called the "Basoda", the main room" [7].

The sofa was the common space, uniting all rooms. The sofa types differed considerably from 'open' to 'closed or inner sofa', and a 'central sofa', as the last stage of the development of 19th century. These sofa types determined the type of house plan accordingly.

The central sofa featured extensions, called eyvans, between the rooms. Sometimes this extension was used to house the staircase, sometimes it was used for a seating zone.

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Structural Properties. Turkish houses had a timber structure on stone masonry basement walls that followed the street line. In order to gain space and achieve a regular rectangular shape, rooms on the living floor were widened by means of jetties, which gave a typical image of the house. Street architecture, in this way, was formed by these projecting upper storeys. The overhangs, both of jetties and the roof eaves, were thus also a result of the light timber structure. The timber skeleton allowed for better performance in earthquakes, another factor for Western Turkish regions. Timber members were infilled with adobe, mudbrick, wattle-and-daub, which did not add much weight to the building.

By comparing the Bulgarian and Turkish houses, it is possible to find many similarities and differences. Religion and family structure. Because of different religion and family life, the Bulgarian house had functional 'specialization' of the rooms, and not man-woman differentiation. The traditional rooms were 'v'kashti' (room for cooking and dining) and 'soba'(bedroom). The open balcony (chardak) was more a space for processing crops or weaving, it was also communication zone with the staircase. This functional distinction was kept in the rich merchants'houses in Plovdiv and Koprivshtitza. Rooms were accessible by a door that was usually diagonally placed in the plan of the room. The Turkish house was one of a Muslim extended family; because of polygamy, it consisted of many nuclear families. Therefore its structure of independent living units allowed for their division and privacy. The spaces for women and men were thus easily divided into 'selyamlik' and 'haremlik'. The interior of the rooms could not be seen from the hall. The hall was the main gathering and production space in the house.

Plan. Turkish houses had a clear four-partite plan of the living floor, with a large cross-shaped central hall with eyvans, which served as a distributing space between the four rooms. This space had no analogue in Late Revival houses in Plovdiv; however, the large hall might be seen as an organizing space of similar functions. Visually, the four eyvans divided the hayat, while in Plovdiv houses the hall was a unifying feature.

The interiors of Turkish and Bulgarian houses differ considerably, although individual elements exist in both types. The division of 'service area and central area' in the room space does not exist in Bulgarian houses. Built-in furniture, though, is present in both types. The basic difference, in the author's opinion, is the height of the main living storey. Due to restrictive building regulations for non-Muslims, the height was kept to 3.00 m versus 3.60 m for Muslim population. Climatic reasons have brought about a higher room space, obviously to draw the hot air above and keep the cool in summer. The second row of windows is very rare: from the examples given, only Kordopulu house in Melnik (Figure 16) has a double row of windows. Increased height brought about a different silhouette and a different proportion in facade structure: houses in Istanbul, Safranbolu, etc., are much higher. Bulgarian house architecture produces in general a typical horisontal facade, featuring wide roof eaves and the supporting brackets under the jetties. Examples of one-storey houses in Koprivshtitza, Samokov (Figure 13), are often present.

Facade treatment. Wall-painting as exterior decoration was not common in Turkish houses; however, the inside walls were often painted with floral motifs. On the contrary, Bulgarian builders

Fig. 22. Istanbul houses feature considerable height and ecclectic facade decoration. [16]

had turned to it as a characteristic device, both from the outside and the inside. Wood-carving was widely used for decoration in both types. Bulgarian façades featured porticos on wood columns, over entrances, especially in the case of freestanding houses in a garden environment. Pediments marked a difference: bow pediments, convex-concave 3D forms, were typical in Plovdiv, Koprivshtiza etc. Turkish houses in Safranbolu had triangular pediments; the houses in Istanbul showed Baroque motives and sometimes bow pediments. The preference for 'star' motives and geometrical patterns on the ceiling was Turkish, whereas Bulgarian builders preferred 'sun'motives with plant ornaments, round patterns, flowers, undulating rays etc. Fireplaces usually had the same conical awning shape, although shorter than the ones in the Turkish houses; but in certain regions they were placed in the corner of the room and had a straight form. Decorative niches were present in both types as part of built-in storage furniture, decorative flower vase motifs were depicted in wall paintings. After comparison, it is possible to conclude that the style developed during the second half of 19th century was a continuation of local building tradition, with a number of references from other Oriental and West European sources, ecclectically grouped in the manner of mix of styles in the late 19th century. Thus, an architectural vernacular language was formed, using similar 'words', to tell a different story.

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